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NEWSPAPER

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Who Needs More Soviet Spies?

U.S.-U.S.S.R. Consular Treaty Must Be Defeated

By ALICE WIDENER

Unfortunately for our national security, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover has no voice in making our foreign policy.. Otherwise, things might be a lot better. As they are now, all Mr. Hoover can do on Capitol Hill is to answer important questions truthfully when he appears before the House Appropriations Committee, as he did last March 4.

At that time, Mr. Hoover was asked about a proposed new U.S.-USSR consular treaty and he warned that such an agreement is "a cherished goal of Soviet intelligence services." Ratification by the Senate of such a treaty, said Mr. Hoover, would make the FBI's counter-intelligence work "more difficult."

It seems, however, that Mr. Hoover's informed opinion carries too little weight among some of our policy planners in the State Department. And so, unless American public opinion prevents the Senate from going along once again with Foggy Bottom's miscalculation of Communist intentions, the Soviets probably will soon achieve their cherished diplomatic intelligence goal within our nation.

On July 30, 1965, Secretary of State Dean Rusk went up on the Hill to appear before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in favor of ratification as a treaty of a U.S.-USSR consular convention signed in Moscow, June 1, 1964. Prolonged work on this had been carried out under the Kennedy Administration. President Johnson inherited the scheme.

It would permit the Soviet Union to establish consulates in some of our biggest cities, and we would set up some consulates in the USSR, for example, in Leningrad.

Secretary Rusk told the Senate committee that the proposed treaty would be a help in getting U.S.-USSR relations "on a more normal basis." He knows full well, however, that there is virtually nothing "normal" about the activities of Soviet diplomatic personnel in our country, either at the United Nations or in New York City and Washington, D.C.

In an article entitled "The U.S. Businessman Faces the Soviet Spy" for the *Harvard Business Review* (issue of January-February 1964), Mr. Hoover made the flat statement, "FBI experience is that official personnel form the backbone of Soviet-bloc espionage in the United States. A Soviet defector has estimated that from 70 to 80 per cent of the Soviet officials in the United States have some type of intelligence assignment."

Mr. Hoover said that the magnitude of FBI counter-intelligence responsibilities were reflected by the fact that as of Nov. 1, 1963, there were 484 Soviet officials stationed in the United States who were accompanied by 515 dependents "many of whom are also potential espionage agents."

Two recently published books, *Red Spies in the U.N.* and *The Ugly Russian*, document in accurate detail the espionage activities of Soviet diplomatic personnel in our own country and in Africa, Asia and the Middle East. It is true that our FBI agents, at the risk of their lives and at considerable expenditure of taxpayers' money, have been able to catch Soviet diplomats in the act of espionage and have prevented them from carrying out many of their nefarious aims.

But these Red diplomats have gone unpunished in our courts, owing to the privileges and immunities they enjoy as "diplomats." There also has been theft of some vitally important U.S. secrets by Soviet diplomats.

Secretary Rusk told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that espionage is a "special problem" and he has confidence in the FBI's ability to handle it. He said, "If those responsible for protecting our secrets are successful, there is no danger in having a few more [Soviet] people moving around freely."

Secretary of State Dean Rusk (left) and Chairman J. William Fulbright of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee flash big grins as they chat July 30 before a hearing on the consular convention with Russia.

It would seem that Secretary Rusk is being less than wholly frank on this subject. He knows that espionage isn't a "special problem" with Soviet diplomats, it is standard operating procedure with them.

Moreover, as J. Edgar Hoover pointed out in his 1964 article, "Soviet espionage is closely coordinated with the intelligence systems of the satellite countries. Our investigations reflect that the Soviets guide and direct the satellite spy systems . . . . Hence, we must speak not of Soviet but of Soviet-bloc intelligence."

Soviet consulates are staffed with commercial, military, naval and air attaches. At this time of war with the Communists in Viet Nam, should our Senate ratify a treaty permitting the Soviets to set up Soviet-bloc spy diplomatic headquarters at consulates in San Francisco, Detroit, Chicago and Pittsburgh?

It would seem that only the pressure of an aroused American public can prevent Senate ratification of a U.S.-USSR consular treaty described by J. Edgar Hoover as the fulfillment of a cherished Soviet intelligence goal. Mr. Hoover said all he could and should about this foreign affairs matter in testimony before the House Appropriations Committee only five months ago.

Now it is up to us to let our senators know that we wish to heed his most cogent warning.

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The Poverty Warriors' Strategy: Consolidate Poor Into Voting Bloc

From the Chicago *Tribune*

Fortune magazine, in an article entitled "The Mixed-Up War on Poverty," cites the confusion of goals in this costly federal stunt to consolidate the poor into an organized voting bloc. It also discusses the confusion of means to reach the already confused goals.

But, despite all this confusion, the article arrives at a remarkable conclusion: It doesn't make any difference to the bureaucrats whether the "War on Poverty" works or not. The primary purpose of the politicians is to work up a permanent lobby of the poor to force the government into a continuing system of handouts and new "programs" which will insure the bureaucrats tenure by giving them more projects to administer and more funds to spend.

The author, Charles E. Siberman, says that it is an unresolved question whether improving the education and training of school dropouts and other would-be young workers will increase demand for them in the short run which is when those already out of school need help. Not only is it unresolved, he says; it is also undiscussed—at least in public. Then he adds:

"In private some Office of Ecomic Opportunity staffers admit to doubt; they lean on a vague expectation that if the people who are trained do not find jobs, they will at least generate enough political pressure to force the government to create jobs for them."

Now you've got it—the "War on Poverty" isn't an end in itself. It is a means to another end, and that end is bigger government, bigger spending, bigger bureaucracy thru the creation of a class dependent on government which, by reason of government subsidies, becomes powerful enough in itself to compel government to do just what government wants to do anyway—namely, to extend its own dimensions and power.

So all the fancy sociological talk in which the "War on Poverty" is wrapped up and packaged for public consumption is vapid. The war is not intended to free anybody; it is intended to enchain its subjects and to mobilize them as a lobby in support of the welfare state.

Some officials at the state or local level of government have had inklings of the strategy. In Syracuse, N.Y., an OEO project aims to get slum residents involved in what is called "community action." The program, the idea of Prof. Warren Haggstrom of Syracuse University, is opposed by the city's administration. "These people," says Mayor William F. Walsh, a Republican, "talk about setting up a 'democratic' organization—small d—but it sounds just the same as Democratic—big D."

Mayor Daley of Chicago, a Democrat, is also dim on the "community action" idea, with representation from the ranks of the poor in planning how the federal cash is to be spent. He said that putting poor people in positions of influence in drafting the programs and allocating the funds "would be like telling the fellow who cleans up to be city editor of a newspaper."

Even Chicago's Democratic mayor, Richard Daley, is skeptical of the "community action" idea.

"What really alarms the mayors," Silberman says, "is the prospect that use of federal power to 'invest the poor with self-managed and independent political influence' will undermine their power and influence, which is based in good measure on control of the local welfare apparatus."

Whatever the poverty war is supposed to do for the poor, it is certainly improving the lot of the administrators and workers who carry it out. The salary level of the people who work in the program's "neighborhood service centers" has improved "conspicuously," Silberman says. "It is the best thing that's happened to social workers since the New Deal was established," he adds.

You bet. And just wait until the future expansion comes, when the graduates of "Poverty U" say that, since their education hasn't landed them jobs in industry, the government should make jobs for them, presumably for life. That will be the last step into socialism. It is the system under which everybody in Communist societies operates.

Baltic States 'Celebrate' 25 Years Under U.S.S.R.

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

The three Baltic countries of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia have been "observing" the 25th anniversary of their incorporation into the Soviet Union. The highlights of the celebration were speeches by Premier Alexsei Kosygin (who told "tens of thousands" of Latvians in Riga that the United States was an aggressor in Viet Nam) and top Soviet theoretician Mikhail Suslov (who chose Vilna, the capital of Lithuania, for a harangue that echoed Kosygin's opinions).

For Moscow's Communists to choose Riga and Vilna as sites to denounce any other aggression than their own is, in the light of any objective history, a most cynical business. It is precisely as if Bluebeard were to celebrate the anniversary of his original wedding 25 years later in the presence of his eighth wife, who might legitimately wonder what her spouse would be up to next.

The Bluebeard parallel is apt in every way. For, like the wives who had been done away with by Bluebeard under grisly circumstances, not many of the Baltic states' inhabitants who were originally "voted" into the Soviet Union in 1940 by the action of stooge parliaments are around today to do any celebrating.

The "eighth-wife" "Latvians" and "Lithuanians" who were addressed by Kosygin and Suslov must have included thousands who are not even of Baltic blood. For 25 years Ukrainians and Russians have been systematically moved into the Baltic states. And the original Latvians, Lithuanians and Estonians have been subjected to a calculated policy of "genocide by diffusion."

Mass deportations have been carried out ever since the first year of Soviet occupation. In 1940-41, the year in which the Stalin-Hitler Pact was in force, 34,000 were either murdered or deported from Latvia; 48,000 from Lithuania; 60,000 from Estonia. Then the Germans moved in.

In 1945, when the Soviets returned, any peasant who resisted the seizure of his ancestral farmland could count on being subjected to "voluntary leave to workplaces essential to the fatherland," which usually turned out to be Siberia. About 10 per cent of the total population disappeared in this way. And a million Russians seeped in to take the places of the displaced Balts. Today, non-Balts constitute about 20 per cent of the Baltic lands population.

What the little Baltic states had to celebrate on the 25th anniversary of their seizure and forced marriage to the Soviet Bluebeard is meager enough. Those who keep up with the course of Russian agriculture, which consistently goes from bad to worse, offer some horrendous figures to show what has happened to farming in the Baltic lands. Grain production in Latvia, for instance, declined from 1.78 million tons to 611,000 tons over a 20-year period. In the same time-span Latvian cattle dropped from 1.21 million to 886,000. Lithuanian cattle declined from 1.38 million to 1.158 million; Estonian from 706,000 to 486,000.

It's a picture of old men on the collective farms in Baltic lands that were cultivated by the young 25 years ago. The young who resisted Sovietization of their acres have gone to the Virgin Lands of Siberia, there to lose their national identity. Those who decided to live on terms of amity with the new masters and become Russified have gone into the cities, where the pay is better and where it is possible to get a sauna bath on Saturday night.

Kosygin and Suslov had the gall of two brass monkeys to choose the Baltic cities of Riga and Vilna in which to complain about American "aggression." But who in the West has even bothered to notice it? Only a few Americanized Balts who wonder where the old post-World War II enthusiasm for Captive Nations Week has gone.

If we don't see the writing on the wall the time will come when some future Bluebeard—oops, Kosygin—will be using Saigon as the site for the celebration of the incorporation of South Viet Nam in the Communist sphere and giving forth with a speech on U.S. aggression against "liberators" in Taiwan, or Australia, or even Hawaii itself.

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FARM PROPAGANDA—Employes of the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service are being used as political messengers by the Johnson Administration to "indoctrinate" farmers who received checks from the agency. This was revealed in a "Memo from the Administrator" (Horace D. Godfrey), an official Department of Agriculture publication sent to ASCS personnel. Marked "For Administrative Use Only," the concluding paragraph reads: "The time is approaching for making payments for farmers under the cotton, feed grain, wheat and certain other programs. In many county offices, the checks are delivered personally to each farmer. This gives the County Manager or clerk a good chance to make better understood what the payment is for and how it serves the national interest. All counties could well adopt this practice. Of course, if the farmer requests it, the check can be mailed." With price supports comes tax-paid propaganda—a rather blatant attempt to make Administration capital out of the program.

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"REPUBLICS FALL when the wise are banished from the public councils because they dare to be honest and the profligate are rewarded because they flatter the people in order to betray them."—Supreme Court Justice Story, 1840.

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• SEE FOR YOURSELF why the New York Times announced this book's appearance with a feature story reprinted by powerful daily newspapers from Massachusetts to California! • **SEE why Conservatives who have been drawn into reluctantly supporting the so-called Great Society simply by its attacks on Vietnam Reds were shocked when this book showed them how our Government is becoming both anti-Communist and anti-Capitalist at the same time, accidentally imitating earlier National Socialist Regimes overseas!** • **SEE how Washington may be leading us unknowingly down the paths of Benito Mussolni's Fascist Statism!** • SEE why the former managing editor of a big Eastern newspaper read this book and then told the author he now worries about LBJ's health! • SEE specific details so accurate that when Humphrey himself narrated the story of his own childhood for TV on April 26, the author's phone rang late into the night . . . with individuals calling to say that they had read the book, watched the TV show and were amazed at how Humphrey's own TV descriptions and comments of Depression happenings matched completely the facts in the book, proving how meticulously exact the book really is! • **SEE why businessmen from Connecticut to Texas are buying 10, 25, even 50 copies of this book to wake up customers, employees and friends!** • SEE a writing style so balanced and fair to Hubert Humphrey that Eastern newspapermen have been forced to concede this is a serious and dignified work that may influence the whole course of American Conservatism during 1965! • **SEE why bookstores across the country are buying the book in boxes of 100 to satisfy demand from regular customers!**

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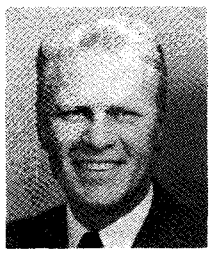
CAPITOL CAMERA

• Administration forces are admitting they might not be able to get the two-thirds margin necessary to put over the LBJ-backed American-Soviet consular treaty, which many say would enhance Soviet espionage activities (see front page). A number of senators have declared they will oppose it, including two members of the Foreign Relations Committee, Bourke B. Hickenlooper (R.-Iowa), ranking minority member, and Thomas Dodd (D.-Conn.). Even liberal Republican Clifford Case (N.J.) says he has grave doubts about it. A grass-roots letter-writing campaign to senators could bury this monstrosity.

HICKENLOOPER

• *Chairman J. William Fulbright (D.-Ark.) of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has issued a pamphlet dealing with the Dominican Republic. While including a number of newspaper articles sympathetic toward the Caamano rebels, the booklet totally excludes reports of news correspondents who found heavy Communist infiltration within the rebel movement.*

• Politicos in the Capitol are saying the President's angry outburst against GOP House Leader Gerald Ford (R.-Mich.) was more feigned than real and was just the latest in LBJ's attempts to smear the Republican party—and conservatives in particular. In another blatant political move in July, he publicly feigned anger over the Republican voting rights bill. Though much fairer and adhering to the Constitution in a much closer fashion than the Democratic measure, LBJ said it "would have seriously damaged and diluted the guarantee of the right to vote for all Americans." Any idea that LBJ wants a genuine consensus is considered so much hooey in light of these unwarranted digs.



FORD

• *Newly appointed U.N. Ambassador Arthur Goldberg's first assignment, according to the Washington* Post, *will be to present the Administration's plan for a "graceful retreat" over the United Nations' delinquent dues problem. Thirteen nations, including the Soviet Union, have short-changed the United Nations more than $100 million.*

• Surprise-of-surprises: Atty. Gen. Nicholas deB. Katzenbach has made liberals furious by asserting in a letter to Chief Judge David L. Bazelon of the United States Court of Appeals in Washington, D.C., that court restraints on police questioning have gone too far in protecting the criminal at the expense of society. Liberal White House advisers are said to be highly upset over the matter. One LBJ adviser was prepared to write Katzenbach a letter taking him to task for his views, but abandoned the idea when LBJ appointed him to an important post. The adviser? LBJ's selection for the Supreme Court, Abe Fortas.

FORTAS

• *Dr. Jose Miro Cardona, president of the key Cuban Revolutionary Council at the time of the Bay of Pigs, has sharply attacked Arthur Schlesinger Jr.'s account of the ill-fated attempt to overthrow Castro. Miro says Schlesinger has produced "articles of scandal, not history." Schlesinger's claim that he had informed Miro of Kennedy's decision not to grant the agreed upon air support when the tide was turning against the exile brigade was branded as "totally and absolutely false" by Miro.*

This Week in Washington

Dirksen: Down but Not Out

Sen. Everett Dirksen (R.-Ill.) still feels he has an excellent chance of getting his all-important reapportionment amendment through the Senate, in spite of its defeat last week. With heavy union opposition, the Dirksen proposal won endorsement from the senators by a 57-39 margin, just seven votes away from the two-thirds majority needed for adoption. (See full rollcall on page 12.)

Personal aides of Dirksen insist "he won't give up" on his fight to reverse the Supreme Court's "one man, one vote" decision. His constitutional amendment would permit the people of a state to decide whether one house of the state legislature can be apportioned on factors other than pure population.

The Illinois senator plans to acquire the additional votes necessary for passage by attaching his proposal to some highly popular measure which most liberals will find extremely difficult to oppose. (If the amendment gets through the Senate, it would still not become operative until ratified by the states.)

Adoption of the Dirksen amendment is considered crucial to many states trying to block seizure of their legislatures by representatives from union-dominated big cities. By reversing the Supreme Court decision, the Dirksen amendment will go a long way toward alleviating this threat.

• Insiders are saying that Dirksen might have won his fight last week if the President hadn't double-crossed him by going back on a personal pledge to keep hands off the controversy. While technically LBJ didn't intervene, his stand-in, Hubert Humphrey, was doing intensive lobbying against the Dirksen measure. Further evidence that LBJ had decided to sabotage Dirksen all along appears in the Aug. 31, 1964, *Washington Report*, Walter Reuther's United Auto Workers's publication.

Commenting on the 1964 Democratic convention, the paper said:

"The only issue which got buried was the reapportionment one . . . but only after a firm pledge by the White House to block any move to overturn the Supreme Court ruling when it hits the Senate."

Udall Plumps for Socialism

Conservatives have just posted another victory ag nst the "Great Society": On July 29, Secretary of nterior Stewart Udall withdrew his petition before the Federal Power Commission to deny Duke Power Co. a license to build a $700-million electric power complex in the northwestern part of South Carolina. Udall backed off after a storm of bipartisan criticism (for the full story, see *Human Events*, July 31, page 6).

Sen. Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.) remarked: "Mr. Udall is due no gratitude for his withdrawal because he should never have intervened in the first place. Any gratitude for the withdrawal should go to the people of South Carolina who reacted so strongly that Mr. Udall was forced to change his position."

While Udall and the public power clique have been prevented from stifling the development of private power in this instance, they have by no means given up pushing their Socialistic schemes. At this very moment the secretary is seeking congressional approval of a federal power project at Trotters Shoals on the Savannah River, even though in the past Udall himself made it plain that the Duke enterprise would render the Trotters Shoals project unnecessary.

Rep. William Jennings Bryan Dorn (D.-S.C.) says Administration forces are desperately trying to tack Trotters Shoals on to the Omnibus Rivers and Harbors bill now being considered by the House rivers and habors subcommittee headed by Rep. John Blatnik (D.-Minn.).

Rep. Dorn, a member of the subcommittee who helped squelch the Trotters Shoals project two years ago, says the dam is Udall's bid to socialize power along the Savannah River.

Dorn says Udall appeared before the subcommittee two years ago, claiming Trotters Shoals was primarily needed for recreation. "His contention," Dorn charges, "was subsequently proved to be utterly ridiculous, as this area has more recreational advantages and fewer people to enjoy them than any other area in the Eastern United States. Now, two years later, the secretary is advocating Trotters Shoals for power . . . .

"It is not needed for navigation. It is not needed for flood control. It is definitely not needed for power, as Duke Power Co. is willing to generate the power and pay taxes while doing so. In the immediate areas, Clarks Hill and Hartwell Reservoirs, two of the largest in the world, and Lake Secession furnish more than adequate recreation for the entire region, navigation from Augusta to Savannah, and more than adequate flood control."

Why, asks Dorn, has Udall "so doggedly and persistently advocated this fantastic government waste? . . . . Trotters Shoals will complete government control of the Savannah River from Augusta to the mountains . . . . If the secretary of the interior can control the Savannah and make connections with other government power projects, then he can control water, power, industry and people. The Southeast would be at the mercy of a federal bureaucracy and a stark federal monopoly . . . . The real goal is national socialism."

The 'Uncomfortable' American

John Chancellor, 38, the NBC correspondent President Johnson picked to head the Voice of America, apparently finds it "uncomfortable" to be an American these days. Why? Because the Central Intelligence Agency, in aiding anti-Communists, somehow is acting against the "public morals."

Chancellor expressed this view in narrating the May 4 NBC-TV show, "The Science of Spying," which took the CIA to task, not for its blunders, but for its successful anti-Red maneuverings.

LBJ's new VOA chief appeared to lament the CIA's aiding anti-Reds in Laos, the Congo and Viet Nam, since it was doing so in a secretive manner. Moreover, he skillfully put the CIA in a bad light for having furtively helped overthrow the leftist Mossadegh government in Iran in 1953 and for pulling the rug out from under the Communist government of Guatemala in 1954.

Chancellor ended his program this way:

"As citizens of the United States in the second half of this century, we are learning to live with some uncomfortable realities. We live in a sort of ethical coexistence with our war heads and missiles, because we acknowledge the inevitability of their possession . . . . What all of us may not realize, however, is that we have created another weapons system of secret and subversive action . . . .

"We have created elaborate safeguards against the misuse of warheads, but the warheads are in reserve. The CIA's on active duty in a constant, secret, dirty war. Safeguards in this area are less efficient.

"The problem we have is how to reconcile the necessity of the CIA with its secret offenses against our public morality. These days, it's getting more and more uncomfortable to be an American, and there doesn't seem to be much we can do about it."

So now this "uncomfortable" American is going to try to improve America's image abroad.

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LBJ Plans 'Art Control'

Another curious boondoggle is passing through the House: HR9460, which would set up a few more federal czars to control the arts and humanities. Advancing federal control over the arts several steps beyond a law passed by Congress last year, the present bill is being pushed by the Johnson Administration and was introduced in the House by LBJ lackey Frank Thompson (D.-N.J.). (Thompson, dutifully obeying LBJ and the unions earlier this year, sponsored the Administration's bill to repeal right-to-work.)

The new Thompson measure, according to the Democrats, "establishes a National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities, whose purpose is to develop and promote a broadly conceived national policy of support for the humanities and the arts in the United States."

In short, LBJ and Thompson would clearly have the federal government spend taxpayers' money to develop a federal **policy towards the arts.**

Republicans on the House Education and Labor Committee say the bill (now before the House Rules Committee) will create a veritable maze of new federal agencies which would put the arts under the "protective" wing of Uncle Sam.

Under the bill, the new National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities would establish a Federal Council on the Arts, composed of representatives of federal agencies whose programs are related to the arts and the humanities. This bureaucratic council, in turn, would coordinate the activities of the National Endowment for the Arts, the National Council on the Arts, the National Endowment for the Humanities and the National Council on the Humanities.

"One naturally wonders," says a Republican report on the bill, "why such a complicated organizational structure is necessary in the dispensing of federal funds in an amount 'not to exceed $20 million.' Could it be that this formidable bureaucratic framework is only a portent of the more lavish expenditure of federal funds which will follow?"

The bureaucrats, in fact, will be able to ladle out money to just about anyone who calls himself an "artist," including the authors of the TV rock-and-roll spectacular, "It's What's Happening, Baby!"

The major myth advanced by the bill's exponents is that somehow federal bureaucrats are necessary for the promotion of good art in this country. Russell Lynes, one of the liberal editors of *Harper's* magazines, retorts:

"I am not worried about creeping socialism in the arts, but creeping mediocrity. The less the arts have to do with our political processes, I believe, the healthier they will be."

The liberal Washington *Post* recently printed this interview with Thornton Wilder, one of America's most reknowned writers:

"[Wilder] rejected as unnecessary a program of government subsidy for the creative artist. 'There are no Miltons dying mute here today," he said, adding that from every small American town 'anyone who can play the scales' is rushed off to Vienna to study music on money raised by the local music appreciation club . . . .

"He said that government should not subsidize a national theater because the voters would then become critics with the power of censorship at the polls. Today, he said, they properly exercise their critical rights by refusing to go to a play to which they object."

Conservatives maintain that the same argument applies effectively to all art.

Nevertheless, the bill, railroaded through the Education and Labor Committee in just 15 minutes, is expected to pass the House.

• A recent issue of the California Farmer *suggested that the controversial farm labor program of Labor Secretary W. Willard Wirtz be conjugated as follows: "Worse, Worser and Wirtz."*

Immigration Ceiling Pushed

The immigration bill that has emerged from the House Judiciary Committee is considered a vast improvement over the original Celler measure which would have permitted almost uncontrolled immigration into this country.

The new measure, largely due to the efforts of Rep. Michael Feighan (D.-Ohio), cleans up the original Celler version in this fashion:

• It would ensure that Congress, not a presidentially appointed commission, would retain control of immigration.

• It would help protect the American worker by adding provisions preventing immigrants from filling jobs desired by American labor.

• It would provide an over-all ceiling on immigrants coming into the United States from anywhere except Western Hemisphere countries.

• It would regulate immigration even further by setting up a new system of preferences within the ceiling.

While the new bill is far better than the radical Celler measure, it still has glaring faults, according to many conservative-minded lawmakers who feel the American economy and its political system would best be served by limited and tightly-controlled immigration.

The biggest defect in the present bill, they say, is the lack of any ceiling on immigrants coming into this country from the Western Hemisphere.

Hence, many conservatives in Congress are expected to support an amendment to be introduced by Rep. Clark MacGregor (R.-Minn.) when the immigration bill comes to the House floor for a vote. The MacGregor amendment, defeated in the House Judiciary Committee, would put a ceiling of 115,000 on Western Hemisphere immigrants, exclusive of immediate relatives.

The State Department is actively opposing it, with Secretary of State Dean Rusk insisting that any ceiling would disrupt Hemispheric relations. At present about 125,000 Hemisphere immigrants enter the United States annually, including relatives.

Hoover Raps Courts on Crime

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover has accused the courts of adopting a system of justice that "coddles and favors vicious criminals at the expense of the public."

Writing in the monthly FBI "Law Enforcement Bulletin," Hoover said that police were hampered by "judicial gymnastics which all but drop a legal curtain around hardened, unreformed criminals."

Few causes of crime are "more serious than misguided leniencies, including abuses of parole, probation and suspended sentences," the nation's top law enforcement officer said.

In an obvious reference to civil rights militants, Hoover said he was "continually amazed at the number of 'enlightened' groups and 'freedom-loving' individuals who are so anxious to promote justice by attacking law and order."

• A federal judge not considered hostile to the civil rights cause, last week ruled that civil disobedience under the guise of demonstrating for civil rights does not provide immunity from arrest and punishment. In a far-reaching decision, U.S. District Judge Frank M. Johnson Jr. ruled in Montgomery, Ala, that:

"The philosophy that a person may—if his cause is labeled 'civil rights' or 'states rights'—determine for himself what laws and court decisions are morally right or wrong and either obey or refuse to obey them according to his own determination, is a philosophy that is foreign to our 'rule-of-law' theory of government.

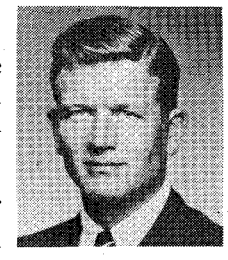
CAPITOL CAMERA

• Nelson Rockefeller has vetoed a bill that threatened his political career. The New York governor nixed a measure to establish a direct primary for statewide office, although he had previously gone on record favoring such an election. Political observers note that Rocky would almost certainly have opposition in any primary in 1966. Instead of a primary, the nomination will be offered by the state GOP convention, a conclave Rocky is sure to control.

ROCKEFELLER

• Upton Sinclair, the venerable California Socialist, reports satisfaction with the Administration's "War on Poverty." His greatest pleasure, he said recently, is "watching the Democrats go up the road to socialism."

• GOP governors, interviewed at the recent Governors' Conference in Minneapolis, were of the opinion that John Lindsay—even if he is elected New York City mayor—has little chance for the Republican presidential nomination in 1968. "I wouldn't say Lindsay would be ready in 1968," said Gov. John Volpe of Massachusetts. "Just to win an election doesn't qualify you for the Presidency," argued Gov. Henry Bellmon of Oklahoma.


LINDSAY

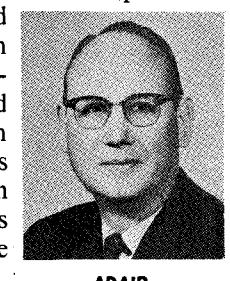
• The Florida East Coast Railway, which has for several years fought exorbitant labor demands, is again the target of sabotage. Railroad officials report that spikes were pulled from a section of rail near Stuart, Fla., last week in attempts to sabotage the resumption of passenger service after 30 months of strike curtailment. If a train had passed over the loose section of track, the rail might have turned under the train, derailing it.

• Premier Moise Tshombe has charged that Cuba has sent Communist agents to fight beside the Congolese rebels. He said the bodies of two Cubans were found June 29 after a two-day battle in the Eastern Congo. Papers on one indicated that he was a "political commissar" dispatched to the Congo by Fidel Castro.

TSHOMBE

• Ivy Baker Priest, who served during the Eisenhower Administration as the United States Treasurer, has announced her candidacy for treasurer of the State of California on the GOP ticket. She has received an Eisenhower endorsement.

• Rep. E. Ross Adair (R.-Ind.) protested earlier this year when the State Department announced that it would send 19 college students to South Viet Nam to observe the foreign aid program. Adair urged cancellation of the trip, which he termed highly dangerous and poorly conceived. Foreign aid officials ignored Adair's recommendations. One of the 19 students, Theodore M. Smith of the University of California, was wounded last week by a Viet Cong bomb.


ADAIR

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Bureaucrats Are the Big Winners In Shriver-LBJ 'War on Poverty'

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

The chief beneficiaries of the Administration's multi-billion dollar "War on Poverty" appear to be the loyal Democrats who hold down lucrative positions within the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Administration officials have labeled "completely untrue" Republican charges that Sargent Shriver has staffed his army with political and ideological cronies. But the facts are clear.

Vincente T. Ximenes, national coordinator of the Democratic National Committee, gave up a $17,200-a-year job to work for the OEO as an $18,-200-a-year "inspector."

The deputy campaign director for Sen. Robert Kennedy in the 1964 New York election, William Vanden Heuvel, has been hired as a $26,000 a year poverty foe.

Brendon Sexton, a $13,500-a-year researcher at the United Auto Workers, had his salary almost doubled by Shriver. He now takes down $26,000 a year as an OEO staffer.

Robert N. Moore was paid $13,-900 as administrative assistant to Rep. Joe T. Evins, Democrat of Tennessee. Moore moved over to the poverty office and now makes $15,600 a year.

B. Michael Rauh received a $2,-600 pay hike when he went to work for Shriver at $15,600 a year. He is the son of Joseph L. Rauh, Democratic National Committeeman for the District of Columbia.

William F. Haddad, a leading "reform" Democrat (and close political ally of Robert Kennedy), went on the poverty payroll at $23,400 a year. He is preparing a race for Congress next year.

Note: Shriver has hired members of the working press at handsome per diem rates. They serve Shriver as "consultants" (on what, is not known).

Shriver, who is considering a race for the governorship of Maryland, has put on the anti-poverty payroll three reporters and one editorial writer for the Baltimore Sun.

Auditors for the watchdog General Accounting Office reveal that Shriver has also hired staff members of the Washington *Daily News*, the New York *World-Telegram and Sun*, *Newsweek* Magazine, and the Raleigh (N.C.) *News and Observer*.

The reporters generally receive from $40 to $60 a day as consultant fees.

The President went on television May 23 to announce that the Post Office would hire 7,500 youngsters for summer jobs as part of the "War on Poverty." "Getting these jobs," said LBJ, "may be the difference between being able to go back to school or not going back."

But the vast majority of these jobs have gone not to the impoverished but to those with political pull. Sen. Milward Simpson, (R.-Wyo.), calls this "rank, cheap politics with the youths of our nation being used as political pawns."

Rep. Albert Quie, (R.-Minn.), a learned critic of the anti-poverty boondoggle, reveals that the Post Office Department is distributing jobs under a complicated system in which Democratic congressmen are given job quotas.

The Minnesota Republican said the quotas varied, but generally were on the basis of twenty for each senator and fifteen for each representative.

Seniority plays a part in the distribution, Quie notes. Minnesota's senior Sen. Eugue McCarthy, was allotted 20 jobs while the very junior Walter F. Mondale was given only 15.

Figures supplied by the Minneapolis post office—regional headquarters for Minnesota, Wisconsin, North Dakota, and South Dakota—reveal that two-thirds of the youngsters hired for summer jobs were recommended by congressmen. More than half the Maryland teenagers hired by the post office were political appointees.

Democratic Congressman Henry Gonzales of Texas saw to it that his son was hired (at $2.29 an hour) under the anti-poverty project. Andy Jacobs of Indiana, another Democrat, arranged a summer job for the son of the president of the state AFL-CIO.

A spokesman for Postmaster General John Gronouski has adamantly denied that politics plays any part in the summer job program. The spokesman, Michael Monroney, is the son of Oklahoma's Democratic Senator, A. S. "Mike" Monroney.

* * *

The Comptroller General of the United States, Joseph Campbell, has submitted to Congress a lengthy report (No. B-146820) that details the gross negligence in American foreign aid.

In 1961, the United Arab Republic claimed widespread famine and asked Washington for 200,000 tons of corn to feed a starving people. Actually, reports Comptroller General Campbell, the UAR that year harvested a bumper corn crop.

Ultimately 186,000 tons of corn were delivered to the UAR, representing an outright grant of $23.7 million to Gamal Abdel Nasser's pro-Communist regime.

Over 40 per cent, or more than $9 million, of this amount is known to have been sold rather than distributed for relief as intended. To what extent the other 60 per cent was sold is undetermined.

Shipments of the grain began in February, 1962, and shortly thereafter the U.S. Embassy in Cairo was alerted to the fact that the corn was being sold by the Nasser regime instead of going to needy people.

This information was called to the attention of embassy officials in April, 1962. There was ample time to stop the shipments, but no effort was made to do so. Nasser and company received another 87,000 tons of corn by July.

Sen. John Williams (R.-Del.) notes that during this period the UAR was supplying material and equipment to Communist rebels in the Congo.

"The effect of this ridiculous transaction," he says, "is that we gave the United Arab Republic this corn and then permitted them to sell it and thereby obtain the exchange to pay for weapons to be used against Americans in the Congo."

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Who Gets The Plums?

By Reg Manning
Arizona Republic Staff Artist

From the Arizona *Republic*

Probe Requested

Secrecy in Summer Job Hirings

From the Des Moines *Register*

Representatives Donald Fraser (D.-Minn.) and H.R. Gross (R.-Iowa) have asked for investigations of Post Office Department secrecy in connection with the summer hiring of young people in the president's Youth Opportunity program. We agree that the refusal of the Post Office to release names is an infringement of the people's right to know about their government, and that Congress should investigate it.

Fraser's request for an investigation was made to the House government information subcommittee headed by Rep. John Moss (D.-Calif.). Moss has expressed concern in the past about Post Office Department secrecy, and his committee already is looking into Fraser's complaint.

Gross asked for an investigation by the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee of which he is a member. Gross is the only Iowa member of the House who did not take advantage of the Post Office Department's injection of patronage hiring into the Youth Opportunity program.

The patronage hiring for summer postal jobs at $2.29 an hour has been belatedly ordered halted by the Administration. The harm has been done, however, because most of the jobs have gone to youths recommended by members of Congress, not to needy youths screened by employment service offices.

The secrecy policy is just as alarming as the political patronage practices. Hiding information about who gets jobs and why opens the door to favoritism and other undesirable practices. Reporters have been given a runaround in their efforts to inform the public about the misuse of the Youth Opportunity program.

The Post Office Department in Washington and postal officials in Des Moines have refused to disclose names because this is not permitted under department regulations.

The regional office of the postal department at St. Louis, Mo., has so far declined to give out statistics on the number of summer Youth Opportunity jobs filled through patronage and through the employment service. It says it doesn't yet have the final count of the number hired on recommendation of members of Congress.

The head of the Iowa State Employment Service says his office cannot give out the names of summer Post Office job applications because of a regulation in a Department of Labor manual.

This secrecy is inexcusable. It could be used to cover up information that might be embarrassing to officials and members of Congress.

It is nonsense to say that the regulation preventing disclosure of names is essential for protection of employes from pressures and fund soliciting. The regulations are no more needed in the postal department than they are needed for city, county, school board and state employes, whose names and salaries are available to the public.

President Johnson reportedly is angry about the patronage hiring which perverted the purposes of his plan to find summer jobs for needy youths. He can give vent to this wrath in a useful way, by ordering the Post Office Department to revise its regulations on the release of information about employment.

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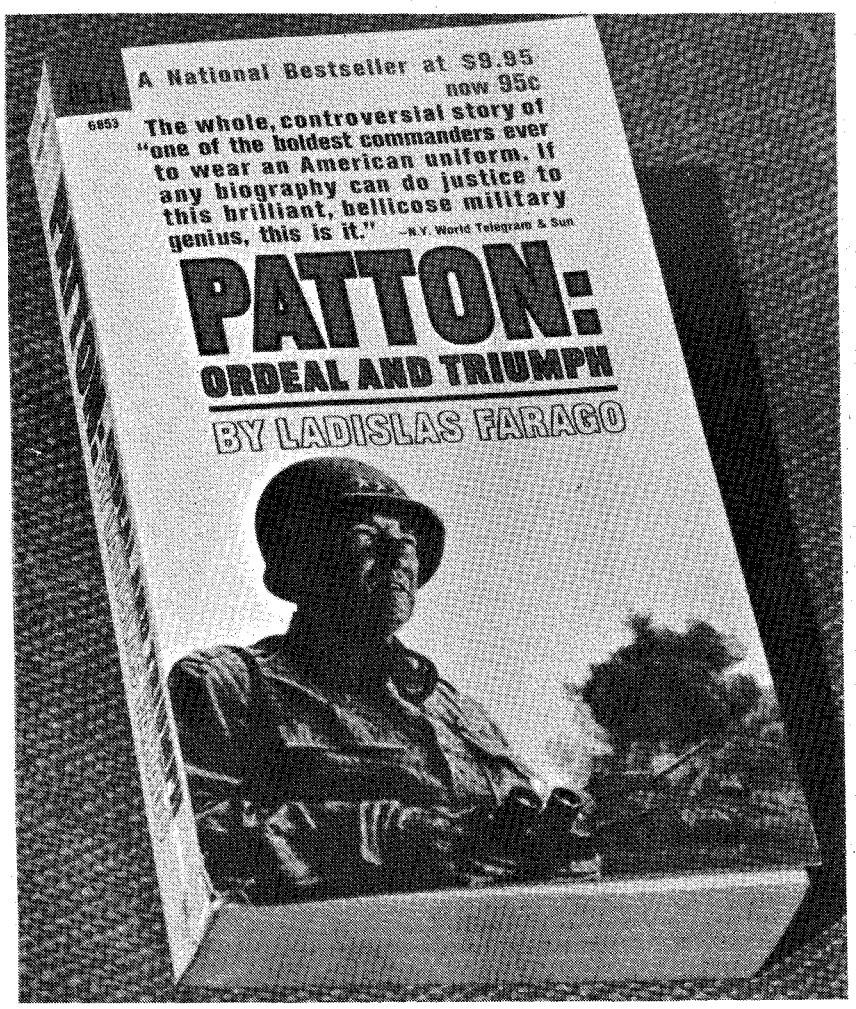

"What Are You Men Waiting For!" "Follow Me!"

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A Special Report on Defense Programming

Failure to Develop Space Weapons Endangers U.S. Security

By BARRY GOLDWATER

The United States has all but abandoned the development of space weapons. There is no evidence that the Soviet Union has followed suit.

We are admittedly at a disadvantage in the development of nuclear explosives which may prove to be most appropriate for space weapons. The Soviets are not.

This nation has volunteered that it would not introduce space weapons, and it undoubtedly intends to live up to that pledge. There is no reason to believe that the Soviets will do the same.

These facts have led me to write this special report on a seldom-discussed but absolutely crucial factor in our defense programming.

Our national security may be evaluated in many ways. One is purely political, and on such a basis we are in hopeful shape. We are holding the line against Communist expansion at the moment at least.

Another is economic, and here we are in fine shape. Communism everywhere is failing economically.

Then there is the ideological gauge. Here, too, communism is failing, while freedom continues to be the goal of most people.

Every one of those gauges is meaningless unless it is measured against what is the ultimate yardstick of this tense time: technological development.

We can be right. Rich. Popular. We can be everything and all things, but we can still be fatally weak if the Communist forces forge ahead of us in technology of modern warfare.

Ask yourself this question: If the Communists gain the technological advantage we enjoyed with our monopoly of nuclear weapons, can we believe that this advantage will not be used to force the West to capitulate to their every demand? There is not a shred of evidence or rational thought that would answer that question with anything but a prudent "no."

On the day that communism can face the West with evidence of an overwhelming superiority in weapons, all the other facets of the cold war will become meaningless. They will be beyond argument, totally dependent upon the mood of communism.

This is a tragic fact. All civilized men must wish that the cold war could be resolved rationally, that there were no tyrants, no aggressive ambitions, no weapons with which to propel such ambitions. But there are. There will continue to be in the foreseeable future.

We have been faced with this challenge before. If Billy Mitchell's foes had succeeded in killing, rather than merely crippling, the development of military aviation in this country, we would have faced Hitler's Luftwaffe at a fatal disadvantage. Or imagine the British during the war without an RAF to defend them.

All the righteousness in the world would have stood us to no avail. We would have lost World War II.

The situation today could become just that bad in an instant. Space weapons are the military aviation of today. The orbital ring of near space

Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev has boasted of having a controllable satellite.

is the obvious, though not the only, next area of weapons developments, just as atmospheric flight was in the 20s.

If the Communists develop such weapons and we do not, we will be in precisely the position of a planeless free world facing Hitler's air army or of a non-nuclear power facing a nuclear one. In such an unequal technological position we would have no choice but to say yes to every Communist demand.

Are we just looking under the bed for trouble? I only wish it were. The truth is sobering. This situation could be our space-age Pearl Harbor.

Top Soviet leaders for months have boasted of space developments which indicate capabilities for definite military use. Their military publications, more meaningfully their military organization, have reflected a definite shift toward consideration of space weapons. Soviet scientific and military personnel, known to be oriented in this direction, have moved up the ladder of command.

Soviet space launchers have concentrated heavily on orbital vehicles while second-grading lunar flights. In short, it is control of the earth rather than exploration of the moon that impels many in the Communist space program.

Beyond those new and developing facts is the long-term impact of Soviet nuclear tests. As is well known by now, the Soviets had completed an extensive

Defense Secretary Robert McNamara has indicated space weapons are too costly.

series of huge nuclear tests prior to the test ban treaty. The United States had not conducted similar tests. The assumpton must be that the Soviets have gained more practical knowledge than we have regarding the huge blasts which might be appropriate to space weapons.

Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev has boasted of a controllable satellite. Enable it to carry a husky nuclear warhead and you have one type of space weapon which could come within 200 miles of any U.S. target during its orbit.

A nuclear blast at that altitude could disrupt the limited defensive system we do have, making the target a sitting duck for subsequent satellites or missiles. We have no back-up defensive system to forestall this.

This satellite could also be de-orbited to deliver its blast closer to the target for killing effect. The key might well be the effective use of the sort of high-yield explosions which this nation never has tested, but which the Soviets have.

Our side of the space picture is as gloomy as the Soviet's side is disturbing. From reams of testimony on the military uses of space before the House defense appropriations subcommittee, one fact emerged so clearly that no member of the committee has seen fit to dispute it: we have no well-defined program for development of space weaponry.

This is not just a mistake. It is also a policy. The Administration has signed a U.N. covenant against putting weapons in space, without any reciprocation from the Soviets.

Defense Secretary Robert McNamara has indicated that space weapons are too costly, as though any dollar cost is too high for the security of 190 million Americans and a billion allies and friends. The only major space-military program McNamara has permitted to stay alive is the Manned Orbital Laboratory, and he has so slowed and limited this that its orbit is apparently toward nothing but bureaucratic extinction.

We have deployed one or two so-called "satellite killers," but they are a pitiful particle of what really is needed.

Pictures of Mars are fine. So is a trip to the moon. But the first job of any administration is to secure the nation against its enemies.

We will not remain the most powerful nation on earth for long if we do not reverse the suicidal Johnson-McNamara refusal to let us arm ourselves in space.

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WAR FOOTING

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South Vietnamese troops in training. U. S. and South Vietnamese servicemen face Viet Cong terror tactics on or off duty.

Reds Suspected of Using Chemical And Biological Warfare in Viet Nam

From the Allen-Scott Report

U.S. military authorities in Saigon are on alert for possible chemical and biological warfare by Communist forces in the growing Viet Nam conflict.

While the White House has clamped a tight secrecy lid on all intelligence on this new threat to U.S. forces, these ominous developments can be reported:

• Mortar and artillery shells containing chemical warheads have been captured by the South Vietnamese and are being examined by U.S. experts.

• South Vietnamese and U.S. troops have become seriously ill after drinking water believed to have been contaminated by Viet Cong guerrillas.

• U.S. servicemen have suffered internal bleeding caused by fine pieces of glass frozen into ice and served at U.S. messes and in Saigon restaurants and bars.

According to reliable congressional sources, intelligence authorities report that this deadly type of warfare appears to be an integral part of the Communists' stepped-up terror campaign to drive U.S. forces from South Viet Nam.

Intelligence officials are warning that the North Vietnamese, aided by Soviet and Chinese technicians, now have the capability to conduct widespread chemical and biological warfare.

A special report of the Central Intelligence Agency flatly states that "mass poisoning of water reservoirs, bacteriological warfare and mass infection with typhus—using bacteria supplied by the Chemical Directorate of the Soviet Ministry of Defense—represents types of clandestine destructive techniques available to the North Vietnamese."

U.S. medical authorities in Saigon are quietly investigating to ascertain whether an increase in typhus cases among South Vietnamese troops and civilians since the first of the year is traceable to Viet Cong tampering with water supplies.

They have documented accounts of both U.S. and South Vietnamese troops being stricken after drinking water contaminated by the Viet Cong, but so far none of the typhus cases have been attributed to their covert activities.

The shells containing chemical warheads were discovered in the ammunition supplies taken from a 100-ton North Vietnamese ship sunk by U.S. naval units in shallow coastal waters north of Saigon.

This Red vessel was intercepted while carrying latest-model Soviet and Chinese arms from North Viet Nam to Communist Viet Cong forces operating in South Viet Nam.

Markings on the shells and captured documents clearly indicate the weapons were part of a much larger shipment of chemical and biological warfare supplies furnished the North Vietnamese by Russia. This shipment reportedly arrived at Haiphong via a Soviet freighter last January.

While U.S. military officials have a wide variety of chemical and biological weapons that could be used in South Viet Nam, all are banned due to the adverse public reaction stirred up last year when non-lethal tear gas was employed.

The Communists mounted a worldwide campaign falsely accusing the United States of using poisonous gas. It was so successful that President Johnson, on the recommendation of Secretary Rusk, banned this non-lethal gas despite the fact that it was the most humane weapon being used in Viet Nam by either side.

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LBJ ON THE COURT—"Precisely how Abe Fortas will vote when the Supreme Court takes up more of the kinds of questions which have split it down the middle in the past remains to be seen. It could hardly be unexpected if he took the 'liberal' view of Chief Justice Earl Warren and Justices Hugo Black, William O. Douglas and William J. Brennan, leaving the less liberal attitude of Justices John M. Harlan, Tom C. Clark, Potter Stewart and Byron R. White still in the minority. An interesting speculation is that Abe Fortas, the first person named to the court by Mr. Johnson, will vote neither a consistent 'liberal' nor a consistent 'conservative' view, but will vote the 'LBJ view' —the view Lyndon Johnson thinks is most politically expedient. Because of the already existing four-to-four lineup this would, in effect, give Mr. Johnson a substantial amount of control over the court."—From the Chattanooga *News-Free Press*

Higher Jobless Pay

Toward a Dole for All

From the Indianapolis *Star*

How does $85 a week for doing nothing strike you? Beats working for a living doesn't it?

This is the maximum level of unemployment compensation in Indiana calculated for 1971 under a proposal now before the House Ways and Means Committee. The proposal, known as H.R. 8282, would bring about a number of other changes in the system, as well as just about doubling the benefits.

The proposed new federal law would require Indiana and other states to pay unemployment benefits for at least 26 weeks to virtually all claimants, regardless of the length of time worked on covered jobs. This would destroy the insurance principle on which the number of weeks of unemployment benefits is related to the number of weeks worked, up to the 26-week limit. In addition, federal payment would be provided after the 26-week period of state payments.

A worker who quits his job without cause would be entitled to full payments after a six-week waiting period. Reduction or cancellation of payments, except for that six weeks, would not be permitted for any cause other than fraud, engagement in a labor dispute or commission of crime in connection with work.

The cost of all this naturally would lead to drastically higher payroll taxes on employers. The base of unemployment compensation tax would be raised from the present first $3,000 of annual wages to the first $5,600 in 1967 and the first $6,600 in 1971.

The federal tax rate would be raised from the present .4 per cent to .55 per cent. Thus even if the state rate remained unchanged, the tax on employers for higher-paid workers would more than double.

All employment would be covered. The present Indiana system taxes and covers only employers of four or more persons for 20 or more weeks in the year. The proposed new law would require coverage of every employer of one or more persons for any period of time.

The new law would encourage states to eliminate experience rating and apply a uniform tax rate to all employers regardless of their record for providing steady employment. This would eliminate one of the incentives for maintenance of a stable work force.

It would provide federal grants to help finance state-paid benefits in states where the benefit payments exceed two per cent of total covered wages. This would penalize states which operate sound systems in favor of states which pay benefits out of proportion to earnings. Compliance with federally established standards would be enforced by withholding of federal credits to states which do not comply.

This is a destructive proposal. It would destroy the logical basis of the unemployment compensation system. One essential element of this logical basis is that a worker who becomes unemployed through no fault of his own does deserve some compensation, proportional to the time and effort and skill he put into his job, while he finds other work.

Another essential element is that the employer who has the most unstable employment record should make the heaviest relative contribution to financing the compensation system.

This proposal would be a step in the direction of converting the logical unemployment compensation system into a huge system of doles. The system would be cloaked in the respectability of the term "compensation," but it would be a system of doles nonetheless. It would not be a system of payments in relation to genuine loss. It would be merely a system of relatively indiscriminate handouts to persons who happen to be not working, for whatever reason.

It would be a step backward in the development of sensible financial security for workers. It should be rejected.

WRITE TO CONGRESS

The House Ways and Means Committee has scheduled hearings to begin August 9 on the Administration's unemployment compensation proposals (H.R. 8282) described above. Write your congressman of your opposition to this measure. A letter to members of the Ways and Means Committee will also be helpful. They are:

DEMOCRATS

Wilbur D. Mills (Ark.)
Cecil R. King (Calif.)
Hale Boggs (La.)
Eugene J. Keogh (N. Y.)
Frank M. Karsten (Mo.)
A. Sydney Herlong Jr. (Fla.)
John C. Watts (Ky.)
Al Ullman (Oreg.)
James A. Burke (Mass.)
Clark W. Thompson (Tex.)
Martha W. Griffiths (Mich.)
W. Pat Jennings (Va.)
George M. Rhodes (Penn.)
Dan Rostenkowski (Ill.)
Phil M. Landrum (Ga.)
Charles A. Vanik (Ohio)
Richard H. Fulton (Tenn.)

REPUBLICANS

John W. Byrnes (Wis.)
Thomas B. Curtis (Mo.)
James B. Utt (Calif.)
Jackson E. Betts (Ohio)
Herman T. Schneebeli (Penn.)
Harold R. Collier (Ill.)
Joel T. Broyhill (Va.)
James F. Battin (Mont.)

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CITING BRITISH HISTORY, Rep. Paul Findley (R.-Ill.) argues the Administration's rent subsidy program is doomed to failure: "In 1795 . . . county officials of Berkshire instituted a wage subsidy scheme for relief of the poor. It was known as the Speenhamland system, or practice, and was widely copied. The payment of money from local taxes was permitted for the purpose of supplementing wages up to a fixed level regarded as imposing hardship on workers. The scheme was an utter failure, for employers simply beat down wages in the knowledge that the taxpayers would have to fork out enough to subsist. The system was swept away by the reformed poor laws of 1834."

□ □ □

NYC VANDALISM—New York school officials have been forced to build schools without windows. Reason: Vandals last year broke 182,907 windows at a total cost of $914,535. Burglaries and fires brought total damage to more than $1.2 million.

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William F. Buckley Jr., the Conservative party candidate for mayor of New York, addresses the National Press Club.

Buckley Hits Appeals to Blocs

William F. Buckley Jr., editor of National Review *and the Conservative Party candidate for mayor of New York City, came to Washington, D.C., last week and addressed a capacity audience at the National Press Club. One problem he commented on—the danger of appeals solely to blocs of voters—is not unique to New York, but is present in most big cities whenever cynical liberals are in control. The following are excerpts on this subject from Mr. Buckley's speech:*

. . . Since it is more dangerous to dissatisfy organized blocs of voters than individual voters—even if they are members of a voting bloc—political candidates in New York address their appeals to the bloc, rather than to the individual. . . .

As far as New York politicians are concerned, a New Yorker is an Irishman, an Italian, or a Negro; he is a union member or a white collar worker; a welfare recipient or a city employe; a Catholic or a Protestant or a Jew; a taxi driver or a taxi owner; a merchant or a policeman.

The problem is to weigh the voting strength of all the categories and formulate a program that least dissatisfies the least crowded and powerful categories, while most greatly satisfying the most crowded and most powerful categories; and the victory is supposed to go to the most successful bloc-Benthamite in the race.

The race to satisfy the bloc finally ends in dissatisfying even the individual members of that same bloc.

If, for instance, you give taxi owners the right to limit the number of taxis available in the city, people who need taxis to get from where they are to where they want to go, can't find taxis when they most want them.

If you allow truck drivers to double park because it is convenient to them and to the merchants whose goods they are unloading, traffic is snarled and taxi drivers can't move fast enough to make a decent living. When the traffic is snarled, people stay away from the city and the merchants lose money.

If the merchants lose money, they want to automate to save costs. But if the unions don't let them automate, they want to leave the city. When they leave the city, there are fewer people to pay taxes to city officials and to the unemployed.

The unemployed aren't allowed to drive taxis because the taxi companies have monopolies. Taxes have to go up because there are fewer people to pay taxes. The unemployed grow restless, and breed children and crime. The children drop out of school because there isn't anyone at home to tell them to go to schools. Some of the children who go to school make school life intolerable for other children in school, and they leave and go to private schools. The teachers are told they musn't discipline the school children otherwise they will leave the schools and commit crime and unemployment.

The unions don't want the unemployed hired because they will work for less money, or because they are Negroes and Puerto Ricans and obviously can't lay bricks or wire buildings like white people can, so they are supposed to go off somewhere and just live, and stay out of the way.

But they can't live except in houses, and houses are built by plumbers and electricians who get eight, ten, twelve, dollars an hour, which means that people can't afford to buy houses, or rent apartments, at rates the city can afford to pay to its unemployed, so the federal government has to build housing projects.

But there aren't enough housing projects, so there is overcrowding, and family life disintegrates. Some people turn to crime, theft and others to ideology. You can't walk from one end of New York to another without . . . being told that white people are bigoted, Negroes are shiftless, that free enterprise is the enemy of the working class, that Norman Thomas has betrayed socialism, and that the only thing that will save New York is for the whole of the United States to become like New York.

Bloc-voting is all the more dangerous, potentially, with the advent of Mr. Justice Warren's democratist mania.

The illegitimization of any state legislature at which representation is based other than on one-man, one-vote, brings, assuming the Dirksen Amendment is not passed, the possibility that the big cities will dominate entire states, that New York City politicians will control both houses of the New York legislature, and impose upon the state their own neuroses and taboos; if not successfully challenged in their own lair. . . .

Everybody in the Gutter?

By JENKIN LLOYD JONES

The quickest way to eliminate anti-social behavior is to deny that any behavior is anti-social.

Since 1958, according to FBI figures, crime in America has risen five times faster than population growth. The obvious way to reverse this trend painlessly is to decree that what were once crimes and misdemeanors are now only recreations, or, at worst, eccentricities.

All you have to do to eliminate illegal speeding is to set the speed limit at 300 miles an hour. The high rate of theft and embezzlement can vanish if we simply redefine borrowing. If we decree that rape is merely enthusiastic courtship and murder a rather untidy form of population control, we can empty the prisons and the statistics will look wonderful.

If this sounds wry, it may not be as wry as it sounds. About 40 years ago sociologists decided that the old throw-the-book-at-'em theory of handling anti-social characters could be improved if we spent less effort punishing and more time trying to understand how they got that way. Counseling, psychotherapy, easier paroles, secret courts for juveniles, etc., would help eliminate the hardened criminal self-image and lead the transgressor into reform and rehabilitation.

Statistically, at least, the results have been awful. The more we have hidden the records of juvenile delinquents the more records we have had to hide. The more paroles, the more repeaters. The more we have tried to explain in terms of deprivation and poverty the more criminals appear who are neither deprived nor poor.

So with the uplift theories in bankruptcy, many of our social workers have begun to act as though misbehavior isn't so misbehaving, after all. The dignified term, "sub-culture," is being heard more often to describe child-deserters, muggers and hopheads. Narcotics addicts are no longer unreliable bums who won't keep appointments with those trying to help them. Instead, as one minister attached to the East Harlem Protestant Parish put it grandly, "They have appointments in their own culture that take precedence over appointments in the square culture."

The June 26 issue of the *New Yorker* magazine includes an interview with Dr. Marie Nyswander, a psychiatrist working with New York addicts. Dr. Nyswander is one who believes laws against taking narcotics should be repealed and doctors should be allowed to prescribe, free if necessary, all the drugs a user needs.

This interesting approach is currently being tried in Britain, although there is loud disagreement about its results. There is no doubt that the crime rate would go down, for why snatch a purse if you no longer have to pay your pusher? You can stand on a street corner laughing at the squares who rush to work to make the money to pay the taxes to buy the dope to keep you in a pleasant daze.

What is more disturbing, however, is Dr. Nyswander's assertion that junkies are fascinating people.

"I like them," she says, "because they are not stereotyped . . . The action of the drugs, combined with the fact that in our culture addicts are cut off from society, forces some of them into a compulsive mysticism. They talk about the clarity of feeling, the oneness of perception, when they are on. In India and throughout the East, they've had drug addicts for centuries. They feed them and consider them part of the community as a whole—a counterbalance to the materialistic proclivities of their society."

Well, it's a little difficult to imagine an addict who would want to be cured if he reads that he is counterbalancing materialism. How noble—head in the clouds, eyes on the stars. If I can swipe $10 Shifty will sell me two bags of horse and I can set about bringing great truths to this lousy, materialistic society that hires cops and expects you to work for money.

If society can't raise up the addict, let society admire him. It will make him feel more comfortable.

Perhaps because uplift is such a long and painful process, replete with setbacks and disappointments, it would seem that some uplifters are giving up and are now trying to get down to the level of the human flops they were dedicated to save.

A few weeks ago a strange interracial service was held in Chicago's old First Congregational Church. To the twang of a guitar the audience swayed and clapped their way through a litany that ran like this:

Leader: *"O God who hangs on street corners, who tastes the sting of the needle—"*

Congregation: *"Help us to touch you."*

Leader: *"O God who is pregnant without husband—"*

Congregation: *"Help us to know you."*

Leader: *"O God who hustles 50 cents for lousy wine—"*

Congregation: *"Help us to be with you."*

Etc.

The thundering old Jehovah who expected people to put aside their wicked ways seems to have died.

Maybe the idea is that if we *all* get into the gutter, no one will look down on anyone.

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DISTORTED CARICATURE—A distinguished lawyer has charged that sit-ins and lie-ins are a "hideously distorted caricature" of freedom of speech. Alfred Avins said that demonstrators neglect to note that other persons have rights, too. Avins, a former instructor at Chicago-Kent College of Law, wrote in the American Bar Association *Journal* that sit-ins involve invasion of private property and force the person who is the target of the protest to listen. "The notion that such a hideously distorted interpretation of the right peaceably to communicate one's ideas to a willing listener could be palmed off as freedom of speech would have struck the framers of our fundamental documents as absurd," Avins wrote.

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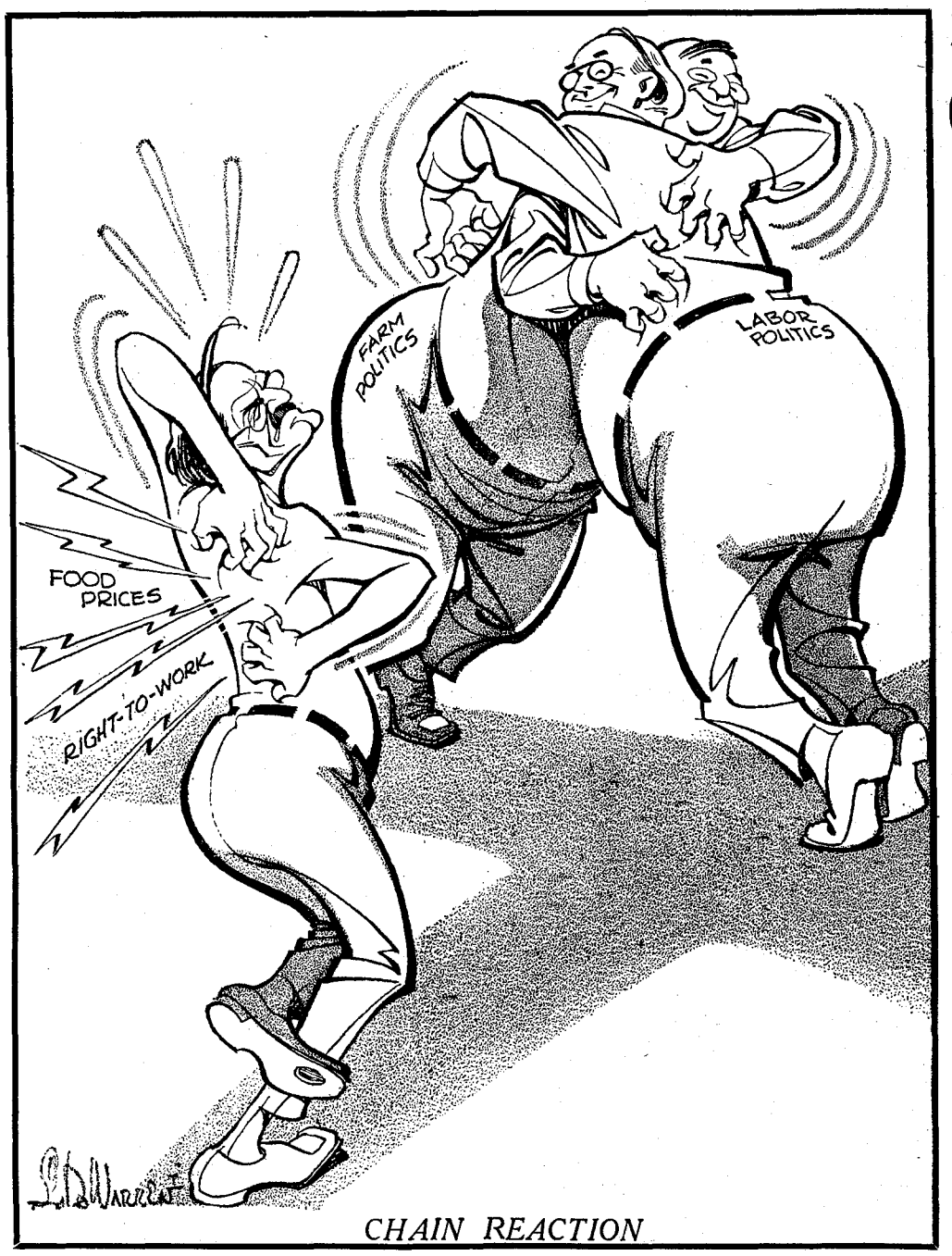

CHAIN REACTION

Courtesy Cincinnati *Enquirer*

Over $24 Million in Union Dues Is Riding on 14b Repeal Effort

From the Waterloo (Iowa) *Daily Courier*

After all the pro and con arguments [of right to work] are considered, it is apparent that the big issue is money. Local unions collect between $1 and $35 a month in dues, with the average being about $4. For a half-million workers, that is $24 million a year in additional revenue.

In addition, unions charge from $1 to $1,400 in initiation fees, with the average being about $10. For a half-million workers, that is another $5 million. Unions also sometimes charge transfer fees and impose assessments which run into more millions of dollars if non-union workers can be forced to join. (Continued in next column)

We don't know how many workers would be forced into unions if right-to-work laws in the 20 states were outlawed by Congress. But a half-million workers is probably a conservative estimate, assuming that new contracts would be negotiated requiring a union shop.

If that estimate is correct, the stake in repeal of the federal authorization is at least $24 million a year. It might be much more.

No wonder union leaders want repeal of the federal authorization. It would fatten up union treasuries and eliminate the problem of retaining members.

But we have seen no pledges that union dues would be reduced if the right-to-work laws are banned. Without such reductions, the rank-and-file union member has nothing to gain by repeal and the "free rider" argument is proved to be a fraud.

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REP. JOHN ASHBROOK (R.-Ohio) has polled his constituents, learned they oppose liberalization of the immigration laws by more than 8 to 1. They favor, by a similar margin, an amendment to the constitution to permit voluntary prayer in the public schools.

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"I THINK WE HAVE more machinery of government than is necessary, too many parasites living on the labor of the industrious."—Thomas Jefferson, 1824

Lesson in Laos

From the San Diego *Union*

The victory of conservative candidates in the recent Laos election has a particular significance to all nations of the free world.

Not too long ago Communist aggressors in Laos were waging an active war, claiming they were trying to "liberate" the nation. It was an outright assertion that Laotians were predominantly Marxist.

With help from the United States the Communists were repelled and Laos was neutralized. Now in a free election in which conservatives won a majority of the 59 seats in the National Assembly, the Communist claims have been refuted.

The Laos election has a lesson for the free world in the Viet Nam war.

Handouts to States

Governors Back Heller Scheme

By DONALD I. ROGERS

Governors of the 50 states at their annual soiree in Minneapolis overwhelmingly subscribed to a plan advanced nearly a year ago by then chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, Walter W. Heller, to seize any surplus money from government revenues and give it back to the state governments to use as they see fit.

Mr. Heller, head of a cult of avante-garde economists, came up with the idea because of his fear of "fiscal drag" that would result, he believed, if the federal government should balance its budget. Thus, if taxes produced more revenue than the government needed to spend (as they did last year) he wants to give this "surplus" money to the states on a no-strings attached basis.

The governors, whether or not they subscribe to the theory of the "fiscal drag," believe simply that the federal government has preempted many of the states' possible tax sources, leaving little left to tax without incurring serious political displeasure. Therefore they feel, somehow, that they're entitled to any federal money that becomes available to them.

The Heller scheme has been endorsed as well by the Secretary of the Treasury and the Director of the Budget, and now other economists, less given to experimenting with the nation's well-being, are fearful that the Administration is dangerously close to adopting it as a policy.

A governor is more directly in touch with his people than is an official in Washington. If a governor wants to spend money he must consider the taxpayers, for taxpayers, as any governor who succeeds to a second term can tell you, are also voters. Governors have statistics to prove this. Records show most specifically that of all referenda questions voted upon at the polls, the ones most often defeated are those asking for state bond issues for new spending programs.

When money comes from Washington, however, it's always a different story. State officials compete with each other in winning voter approval by spending as much Washington money as possible.

Quite simply, the governors look on this merely as another source of Washington money to be spent in their states as they wish.

It's dangerous stuff, for this gives the federal Administration the opportunity either to defeat or support any state or big-city politician merely by granting or withholding money, whatever the political choice may be.

Worse than that, it reflects a new attitude in Washington about money that is taxed from working Americans. This attitude holds that once tax money has been paid, it belongs to the central government, and the taxpayers have no further claim on it, and no voice in determining its disposition.

It is considered the government's own money, and if there is more of it than there are expenditures, then the difference is considered to be "profit," to be split up and divided among lesser governments.

It's a "handback" of tax money, and it is as immoral as a "kickback" to a politician, something which is specifically forbidden by law.

Before the "movement" goes much farther, Congress should re-establish the basic concept about taxes. It is this: Tax money belongs to taxpayers from source of collection to point of payment; it is handled by the federal government in custodial trust, and is not the property of the federal government; any that remains at the end of a fiscal year remains the property of taxpayers and must either be applied to reduce their indebtedness, or returned to them directly, or spent on programs which have been authorized by taxpayers through their elected representatives.

The Heller scheme asks the federal government to break a fiduciary trust, and unfortunately the governors seem willing to have it done.

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"IT IS FOR THE GOOD of nations, and not for the emolument or aggrandizement of particular individuals, that government ought to be established, and that mankind is at the expense of supporting it. The defects of every government and constitution both as to principle and form, must, on a party of reasoning, be as open to discussion as the defects of a law, and it is a duty which every man owes to society to point them out."—Thomas Paine *The Rights of Man*

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Lyndon's 'Voting Rights' Mischief at Work

From the Richmond *News Leader*

A perfect example of the mischievous working of Lyndon Johnson's new Voting Rights Act of 1965 may be seen in a developing situation in Amelia, Nottoway, Lunenburg and Sussex counties in Virginia. Once the bill finally is cleared through conference committee and sent to the White House for signature, a series of triggers will start to snap. And the chaos will begin.

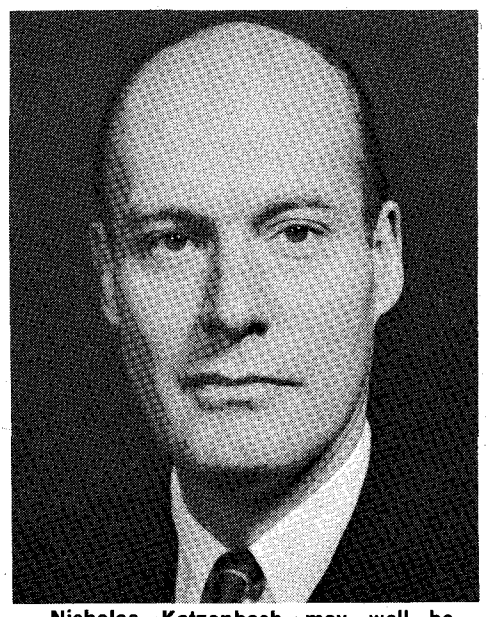
This is Trigger No. 1: The act applies to "any state or any political subdivision of a state" which maintained on Nov. 1, 1964, any test or device relating to registration. The words "test or device" are defined to include any requirement that a prospective registrant "demonstrate the ability to read, write, understand, or interpret any matter." Virginia's constitution requires registrants to write out their name, age, address and occupation in their own handwriting. Under the law, this is a "test or device."

Then Trigger No. 2: The act applies to the "test or device" states and localities, however, only if less than 50 per cent of the adult population were registered or voted in the presidential election of 1964. In Virginia as a whole, 1,042,267 of the 2,312,887 adults, or only 45.1 per cent, voted in that election. The act therefore will apply generally to Virginia.

Amelia County may be exempt because Amelia voted 53.5 per cent; but Lunenburg voted 41.7, Nottoway 49.9 and Sussex 43.6 per cent. Clearly the act will apply in those three counties. All that is required is that the attorney general or the director of the census officially certify the voting percentages. Such a determination "shall not be reviewable in any court and shall be effective upon publication in the *Federal Register*."

Now comes Trigger No. 3: Under Section 5 of the act, Lunenburg, Nottoway and Sussex cannot make any change whatever in their "practices or procedures" of voting, altering the regulations that existed in November, 1964, without the consent of federal authorities.

Let us see how Section 5 will operate in the specific matter now in the news. In recent months, the three localities have adopted a system of central registration, replacing the old system of registration by magisterial districts. Such changes are in keeping with a trend across the nation.



Nicholas Katzenbach may well be asked to approve new registration ideas.

In past years, when roads were poor and communication difficult, the practice of designating a farmer or storekeeper as a district registrar doubtless made sense. Today, with good roads and a much more mobile population, the trend everywhere is toward a single registrar at the county court house, sitting at specific times, who can maintain all records at one central point.

Now let us suppose that the act has become effective. Before the three counties can proceed with central registration, apparently they must do one of two things: They must beg the U.S. attorney general, Mr. Katzenbach, not to disapprove their new systems; or they must file a proceeding in the U.S. District Court in Washington asking for a declaratory judgment that their new systems of central registration "do not have the purpose and will not have the effect of denying or abridging the right to vote on account of race or color."

Under the first of these alternatives, Mr. Katzenbach has 60 days in which to act. If he has not "interposed an objection" within 60 days, the counties may proceed. But even so, the attorney general's failure to object "shall not bar a subsequent action to enjoin enforcement." Thus the counties' changed procedures live on borrowed time. May they enforce central registration? Must they revert to the old plan of district registrars? It is precisely this kind of essentially local decision that must be submitted to a three-judge court in Washington, at Heaven alone knows what cost, inconvenience, and prolonged delay.

These observations do not even touch some of the other triggers concealed in the Voting Rights Act of 1965, having to do with proceedings that lead to the appointment of federal registrars.

It will suffice to say that once the bill is signed and the figures are published, the whole weight of this drastic and unprecedented law will fall upon just such counties as Lunenburg, Nottoway and Sussex, not because they have discriminated, but because they voted less than 50 per cent last November.

And if we read the act correctly, in these three counties, until they are acquitted by the Washington court, no person can be denied the right to register simply by reason of illiteracy. The idiotic prospect is that illiterates may still be barred in Amelia, because Amelia voted 53.5 per cent, but illiterates may not be barred in adjoining Nottoway, because Nottoway voted 49.9. If 13 more persons had voted last fall in Nottoway, Nottoway would be exempt.

This is the law that Lyndon Johnson asked. Every one of Virginia's members of Congress, except for Pat Jennings of the Ninth District, voted against the bill. The chaos is not of their making. This is LBJ's own flock of blundering chickens, and we hope one day to see them home to roost.

Dirksen Amendment Rollcall

Following is the 57-to-39 rollcall vote by which the Senate rejected the Dirksen constitutional amendment which would have overturned the Supreme Court's "one-man, one-vote" ruling and allowed the people to decide how to apportion their state legislatures. To pass, a two-thirds vote of the senators present was necessary for the amendment; thus the amendment fell seven votes short of passage.

FOR THE AMENDMENT: 57

DEMOCRATS (28): Bartlett, Bible, Byrd (Va.), Byrd (W. Va.), Cannon, Church, Eastland, Ellender, Ervin, Fulbright, Gruening, Harris, Hill, Holland, Jordan (N. C.), Lausche, Mansfield, McClellan, Metcalf, Monroney, Moss, Robertson, Russell (S. C.), Russell (Ga.), Smathers, Sparkman, Stennis and Talmadge.

REPUBLICANS (29): Aiken, Allott, Bennett, Carlson, Cooper, Cotton, Curtis, Dirksen, Dominick, Fannin, Fong, Hickenlooper, Hruska, Jordan (Idaho), Kuchel, Miller, Morton, Mundt, Murphy, Pearson, Prouty, Saltonstall, Scott, Simpson, Smith, Thurmond, Tower, Williams (Del.) and Young (N. D.).

AGAINST THE AMENDMENT: 39

DEMOCRATS (36): Anderson, Bass, Bayh, Brewster, Burdick, Clark, Dodd, Douglas, Gore, Hart, Hartke, Inouye, Jackson, Kennedy (Mass.), Kennedy (N. Y.), Long (Mo.), Magnuson, McGee, McGovern, McIntyre, McNamara, Mondale, Montoya, Morse, Muskie, Nelson, Neuberger, Pastore, Pell, Proxmire, Randolph, Ribicoff, Tydings, Williams (N. J.), Yarborough and Young (Ohio).

REPUBLICANS (3): Boggs, Case and Javits.

Paired for the amendment: Symington and Long (La.), Democrats.

Paired against the amendment: McCarthy, Democrat.

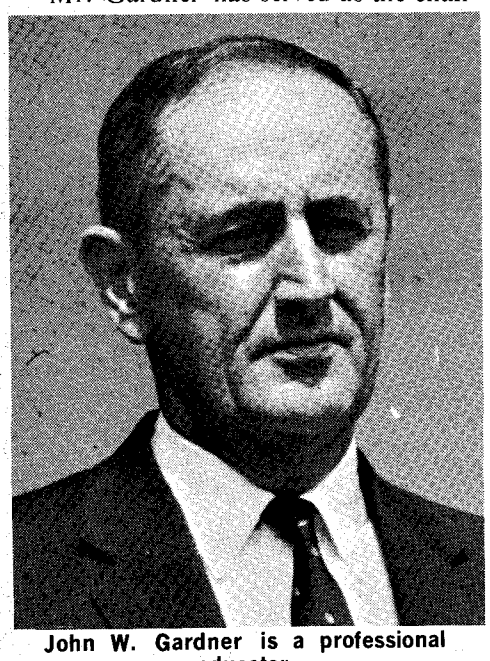
HEW Secretary

Does Gardner Appointment Mean New Federal Role in Education?

From the Cincinnati *Enquirer*

In designating John W. Gardner to be the nation's sixth Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, President Johnson has enlisted the talents of a professional educator who presumably shares his own feelings about the role of education in building the "Great Society."

Mr. Gardner has served as the chairman of the President's task force on education. He was also chairman of the recent White House conference on education. And, if Vice President Humphrey may correctly be said to have sounded the keynote for the conference, the nation may very well expect to see an expanded role for the federal government in an altogether new concept of education.



John W. Gardner is a professional educator.

"The American educator and the American citizen," the Vice President told the conference, "must think in larger terms—more ambitious terms—than we have yet begun to contemplate. . . . We can be remembered for our generosity, for our humanity, for our sense of commitment to our fellow man."

These new and larger terms mean that the task of education is no longer to train young Americans to read and write and think. It is now to train them to live together harmoniously. It means the transformation of the nation's schools into what some educators have been trying for several generations to make them—instruments of social change rather than instruments simply of education. Walking hand in hand with this vision of the school as the reshaper of society is the conviction that there is no problem of human-kind that cannot be solved through education.

The traditionalist view of education and its mission now, seemingly, has become the minority view; at least it is a view that is likely to have a smaller and smaller voice in national educational circles.

One upshot is that the growing federal activity in the area of education will not be the allocation of federal funds to help build schools, buy books and pay teachers. It will be instead a federal blueprint to convert schools into molders of proper young citizens of the "Great Society."

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NEW HIGH—Living costs advanced three-tenths of 1 per cent in May for the second straight month, the Labor Department has announced. The rise lifted its index of consumer prices to 109.6, a new high. This was 1.7 per cent higher than a year ago. The index reading means that consumer goods which could be purchased for $10 in the 1957-59 period now costs $10.96.

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WHITE HOUSE EFFORTS to curb free world trade with Castro Cuba have flopped again. The June 29 Commerce Department blacklist of ships that deal with Cuba reached 240. The previous high was 237 ships.

Guidelines, Goodbye

From the New York *Daily News*

The President and his economic advisers for some time have been putting it about that wage boosts plus fringe benefit increases totaling not more than 3.2 per cent a year would be proper because non-inflationary.

These suggested limitations are called guidelines, or guideposts, which it is hoped labor will heed, with business and industry using similar self-restraint about price increases.

Now, the Department of Labor reveals that average wage increases in 1965's first half ran about 4 per cent, with fringe boosts adding another 2 per cent.

So there go the guidelines, or guideposts, as regards labor. And if the President can't persuade his labor pals to be anti-inflationary, what excuse can he find for urging business and industry not to boost prices?

Moral: We'd all better hedge against inflation.

□ □ □

"THE PEOPLE never give up their liberties except under some delusion.
—Edmund Burke

WRITERS

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Errors Cited

Arthur Schlesinger Has Written Bad History

By HENRY J. TAYLOR, Former U.S. Ambassador to Switzerland

When Arthur Schlesinger Jr. recently fouled the Kennedy nest he proved again how sad an error it is to give one's confidence to the wrong man; there is simply a small chewing noise, as when the cat reaches the backbone of a mouse. And when Schlesinger cut the throat of appointee Dean Rusk in the dead President's name, ah, this was pure Schlesinger. But is it history?

It would be one thing if you could just dismiss Schlesinger as a coattail rider and fast-buck artist, arrogant but sycophantic, ambitious but susceptible. From published statements, that seems to be the reaction among outraged Rusk defenders in Congress. But it is Schlesinger's calculated pretenses in presenting himself as a historian that should lead the parade of objections.

A scholar who dishonors scholarship is really an awful thing to see—like a child who testifies against its own mother in a divorce court.

History pushed too far toward sociology (a constant Schlesinger trick), like a sociology pushed too far toward history, contains an inherent dishonesty. The best history is that in which no element of self-interest, extremism or bias appears. Yet, writing as a historian and reviewer, listen to Dr. Schlesinger's Olympian detachment in writing (Sept. 27, 1964) on Gen. Douglas MacArthur.

He describes MacArthur as "wearing his patriotism on his sleeve," charges him with "Messianism and paranoia," no less, and speaks with contempt of "his ham eloquence" and "overwritten Confederate prose."

If this is the writing of a historian, Harvard University better shut up shop. The Pulitizer committee, too.

At some point, facts also claim a place. Said Bernard M. Baruch: "Every man has a right to his own opinion, but no man has a right to be wrong in his facts."

A historian has no more right to play with facts than a sentry has to desert his post. Yet that's pure Schlesinger, as well.

For example, I have direct, personal knowledge of only two things in the magazine excerpt from Schlesinger's forthcoming book, but in these his record is 100 per cent. Both are wrong.

One is his reference to clarifying the status of ambassadors. Schlesinger states, for the purpose of showing great improvement, that "Kennedy's circular letter to U.S. ambassadors in May 1961 gave them (he emphasizes 'for the first time') the authority 'to oversee and coordinate all the activities of the U.S. government' in their countries."

The clarification was issued years ago by President Eisenhower, was part of each Eisenhower chief of mission's reading file when he took up his post.

It included: "An American ambassador is the commanding officer and everyone stationed in the country is under him," etc., etc. It then ordered the multiple-agency subordination to him that Schlesinger misdates, attributes erroneously and calls a new "first step."

Next, Schlesinger neglects to state that Secretary of State John Foster Dulles had great respect for Dean Rusk. But if his facts are as false about Rusk as about Dulles, his score remains perfect.

Here historian Schlesinger relies entirely on the reader's forgetfulness of the public record when he castigates "the readiness of Dulles to yield up Foreign Service officers to McCarthyism." But Ambassador Charles E. Bohlen, often praised in the articles and a Foreign Service officer prominently involved, owes it to Dulles to repudiate Schlesinger in print, and fast.

Dulles himself selected Russian-speaking Bohlen to be Ambassador to the USSR. President Eisenhower approved it. But Bohlen's defense of the fateful Yalta agreements (he had been President Roosevelt's interpreter) created an uproar, and intense Republican opposition, in the Senate.

Dulles told powerful Senate Majority Leader Robert A. Taft that Bohlen was the best qualified man. He persuaded Taft to beat down the opposition of Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy and many others. Through Taft, Dulles pushed Bohlen's nomination through by a vote of 74 to 13. Battling Sen. McCarthy and battling for the Foreign Service Secretary Dulles put his neck on the block for Bohlen.

Again, what Dr. Schlesinger has written is both unjust and untrue.

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Former Presidential aide Schlesinger (above) pushes history toward sociology says columnist Taylor.

Several Questions For Mr. Fortas

From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

Representative Durward G. Hall (R.-Mo.) has raised a serious charge against Abe Fortas, President Johnson's choice to succeed Arthur Goldberg to the Supreme Court.

Mr. Fortas is accused of playing a role in the "windfall" of $11 million to $30 million that reportedly accrued to the Phillips Petroleum Co. of Bartlesville, Okla., from an Interior Department decision permitting it to build a refinery in Puerto Rico to increase its import quota.

Has Justice-designate Abe Fortas used his government influence improperly?

Rep. Hall asserts Mr. Fortas, acting as attorney for the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico and advocating issuance of the Interior Department ruling, had a "vital role in the decision" which permitted the Phillips firm to gain "a great competitive price advantage" in selling gasoline in the United States.

Hall in his House speech charged the case has "ominous implications concerning improper use of influence in the high councils of government."

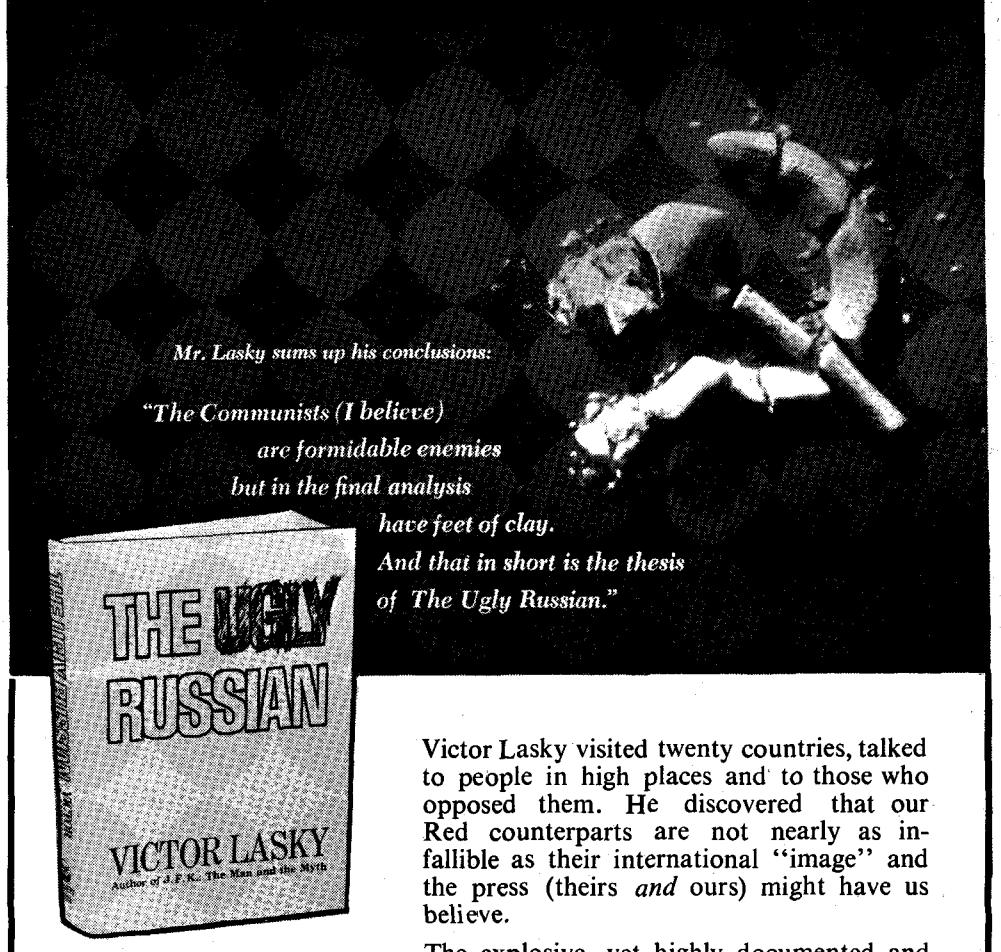
In examining Mr. Fortas' qualifications to be an Associate Justice on the Supreme Court (qualifications which thus far have escaped this newspaper), the Senate Judiciary Committee should give him a thorough grilling on the oil deal.

Did Phillips get a special competitive advantage? And, if so, was it entitled to have it? Was improper pressure used or was special dispensation given?

We also can agree with the candid observation of Sen. John J. Williams (R.-Del.), who said he will not vote for Mr. Fortas' confirmation because "it is obvious President Johnson did not look far beyond his inner circle of friends" in selecting the Supreme Court nominee.

Victor Lasky — author of the best seller "JFK: The Man and the Myth" — shatters another myth by asking:

"Are the Russians ten feet tall?"



Mr. Lasky sums up his conclusions:

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Indonesia's Nuclear Bomb

From the Arizona *Republic*

In a speech at Bandung this past weekend, Indonesian President Sukarno announced that his country plans to build a nuclear bomb. The boast reiterated earlier predictions by Indonesian officials that the Jakarta government would be able to build nuclear weapons within the next five years.

The tragedy is that Indonesia will have the United States to thank—and the rest of the world will have the United States to blame—if Sukarno's boast comes true. For despite Washington's official concern about the spread of nuclear knowledge, the U.S. foreign aid program installed Indonesia's only working nuclear reactor. The reactor, at the Bandung Institute of Technology, produces radioactive isotopes supposedly for research use.

Nuclear weapons in the hands of Indonesia can offer little comfort to the United States or the rest of the world. For in the past, Sukarno has demonstrated both his irresponsibility and his imperialistic appetite, neither of which is likely to diminish as his nuclear power increases.

Should Indonesia in fact build a nuclear bomb, that will say more about the failure of foreign aid than the volumes already compiled attesting to the mismanagement, waste and corruption which already have plagued our aid program.

Columnist Says 'Yes'

Will Arthur Goldberg Be Chosen '68 Vice Presidential Nominee?

By RALPH DE TOLEDANO

When President Johnson announced that he had appointed Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg to the United Nations ambassadorship vacated by the death of Adlai Stevenson, there were mutters of incomprehension from political observers here in Washington.

Why, it was asked, would Mr. Goldberg leave a lifetime and prestigious post in the nation's highest tribunal for the heartbreak and uncertainty of representing the United States at the U.N.? No matter how you looked at it, the Goldberg acceptance made no sense. It was taken for granted that the President had done one of his skillful arm-twisting jobs, leaving Justice Goldberg no choice.

The facts are considerably different. Arthur Goldberg left his Supreme Court post willingly and with joy in his heart.

Arthur Goldberg, recently appointed U. S. ambassador to the United Nations.

For a deal was involved which will benefit Mr. Goldberg mightily and also leave the nation gasping when all the steps have been taken. From sources close to the former Justice and after cross-checking at the "Great Society's" top echelons, these are the facts I have been able to gather:

• The President was anxious to pay off one big political debt and to have a loyal Johnson man on the Supreme Court. His choice was Abe Fortas, Presidential braintruster, legal eagle, and troubleshooter. Mr. Fortas, however, could not sit on the court—given the rigid ethnic division that now obtains—without replacing a Jewish justice, namely Mr. Goldberg.

• The President, who likes to chalk up historical firsts, felt that he could use Mr. Goldberg to achieve his purpose.

• Mr. Goldberg was quietly approached with this proposition: If he would accept the U.N. ambassadorship, he would be rewarded with a precedent-shattering promotion.

• "There has never been a Jewish Vice President," Lyndon Johnson told Mr. Goldberg. "If you will step from the Supreme Court, I promise you the vice presidential nomination in 1968. You will therefore have a chance at the Presidency in 1972, when I can no longer run."

Justice Goldberg leaped to the suggestion. Like most politically sophisticated Democrats, he knows that Vice President Hubert Horatio Humphrey is an outsider in the Johnson Administration. He carries no weight in inner circle deliberations—in fact, he is seldom present. Among the liberals, he has lost his former appeal. It has, moreover, been a badly kept secret that President Johnson has no intention to allow Mr. Humphrey a second term in the Throttlebottom spot.

The President, it should be known, feels that he must win back the liberals who are writhing over his foreign policy in Viet Nam and the Dominican Republic. Arthur Goldberg has maintained his contacts with the powerful AFL-CIO political machine. He is respected by the liberals. And he would gather a considerable following, strengthening the Democratic ticket, if he were to be President Johnson's running mate.

There is, of course, one risk. However strong Mr. Johnson may seem, he can still be struck down by a heart attack—or otherwise incapacitated—before the 1968 convention. If this should occur, Mr. Humphrey will have a full-nelson on the Democratic nomination. But the odds seem to be running against the Vice President. The President continues to astonish Washington officialdom and the press corps by his amazing energy and his ability to do twice as much as younger and stronger men find themselves able to accomplish.

The President, who seeks constantly for an unchallenged place in history, knows that the choice of Arthur Goldberg as his running mate would have more of an impact than President Woodrow Wilson's appointment of Louis Brandeis to the Supreme Court. That was a courageous act, but LBJ's decision will open a new page in American political history.

In the months to come, the Administration's publicity machine will do its utmost to make a national hero of Arthur Goldberg. His every move will be hailed as the acme of statesmanship and diplomatic brilliance. The White House will see to it that he has a good and constant press. There are pitfalls in Ambassador Goldberg's way, and the U.N.'s rocky road can cause him to trip and fall. But the chances are that he will avoid the pitfalls and retain his footing.

If this is so, then the 1968 Democratic Convention will be one of the most interesting to observe. In any case, there will be no criticism from the pundits that the Vice Presidential selection is a boring one. Say what you will, LBJ will have found a way to brighten up the dullness of the quadrennial nominating follies.

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SPOTLIGHT on CONGRESS

The Johnson Administration is making a big pitch to discourage foreign travel. Why shouldn't Americans go abroad? If they don't the State Department will send their money over anyway.

Saving for War

By SEN. THRUSTON MORTON (R.-Ky.)

In his statement on July 28, the President seemed unwilling to face up to the fact that certain sacrifices at home are necessary to the prosecution of any war. That we are now in a war in Southeast Asia he does not deny. But he still refuses to tell the American people that some of the vast spending programs envisioned in his "Great Society" will have to be curtailed, or taxes will have to be raised, if the war is successfully prosecuted. Instead of the President making this situation clear to the American people, the Administration in Washington still is putting emphasis on recent tax cuts made in the face of heavier expenditures at home and international crises abroad. Enterprising merchants now are running ads telling the people how much money now can be saved on various items, due to the recent repeal of excise taxes. A Persian lamb coat now is $50 cheaper. A natural mink jacket is $50 cheaper. A natural mink coat is $150 cheaper.

During the same televised appearance in which the President told the people of this country that they are involved in a war of increasing proportions, he again repeated the aims of his "Great Society" program which is pyramiding billion upon billion. The President said that the war in Southeast Asia is in the national interest. What he did not say is that equally important to the preservation of our nation is the maintenance of a durable economic and financial structure at home. It does not seem to be in the national interest to permit the people to believe they can have cheaper mink coats at home, due to tax reductions, at the same time they are fighting what may become a major war.

Suppressed Facts

By REP. CHARLES GUBSER (R.-Calif.)

If one so much as raises an honest question on civil rights today he is branded as a bigot. If he defends Administration policy in Viet Nam, he is a warmonger. And if he questions the poverty program, he is considered heartless and insensitive to the feelings of the poor. We who question this program have only been told of the great need to cure poverty—a need with which we agree—we have not been told of the validity of the plan to accomplish this purpose, nor have we been presented with the facts and a record of sound accomplishment. In fact, facts have been suppressed and denied us.

Selling Businessmen

By REP. E.Y. BERRY (R.-S.D.)

The secret of President Johnson's success in passing legislation which would have horrified the average American 10 years ago is his ability to sell the business and banking interests on his program. In addition, to that, of course, is a lopsided Congress preferring cooperation to political harassment. It is in this atmosphere that a "Great Society" program is being written. Under the Administration's direction, Congress is busy writing into laws ideas which heretofore were foreign to our way of life. These programs add up to an all-powerful central government and diminishing importance of state and local governments. Through government action, these programs are intended to insure every American a job, a reasonably good living, an adequate diet, comfortable housing, adequate schooling including head-starts for so-called underprivileged children as well as college scholarships for youth, and medical care for the aged including a subsidized plan of insurance for doctor and medical bills.

In addition, the federal government is plunging into control of water and air pollution, as well as landscape beautification through banning junkyards and highway billboards, expanding anti-poverty programs including rent subsidies for the middle classes and federal medical centers. We see constantly expanding federal employment to carry out these programs while at the same time reduced federal revenue through cutting income and excise taxes. As the federal debt piles up, the importance of gold and silver as backing for our money is reduced by repealing laws providing for metallic monetary backing.

Poverty Doubts

By REP. THOMAS PELLY (R.-Wash.)

My original doubts about the Administration's "War on Poverty" seem, unfortunately, coming true. In the last session of Congress I voted against this program, not because I did not believe in its high objectives, but rather because I felt, and still do, that we already had agencies in and out of government that could do the job much more efficiently than creating a new empire. I favored "beefing up" existing agencies to deal with these problems. Congress seems to be unperturbed by the lag and shortcomings of the program and is now extending it another year and doubling its funds. *Both the Senate and House Labor committees have shied away from any real efforts to assess its successes or failures. Criticism has caused top officials of the Office of Economic Opportunity to whittle down many of their announced goals in recent months as the anti-poverty program has fallen behind schedule. But even these scaled-down objectives have not been met.*

Diaper Service

By REP. ROBERT MICHEL (R.-Ill.)

I take this time to call the attention of the House to a most interesting phase of the poverty program. I understand the Labor Department is going to spend $141,854 of the Manpower Development and Training Administration's funds to train 700 men in the art of diaper service. It may come as a shock to some that the government has uncovered a great shortage of didee service personnel. I do not believe it is the government's responsibility to train personnel for this industry.

But, of course, I realize that the poverty program must cover the waterfront. In this case it is pinning its hopes on a business that is in its infancy, but is generally picking up. Although there is continual danger of its folding at any time and, of course, if the bottom drops out, we will have an awful mess on our hands. There is, of course, the opportunity to clean up a bundle, as they say in the trade.

I bring this matter to the attention of the House solely to help us get to the bottom of this problem—at least in the infant wear division. There may be some who claim that the government is being rash by stepping into the diaper business and I tend to agree.

In conclusion, may I leave with you a thought borrowed from the slogan of the diaper industry—ladies and gentlemen it's time for a change.

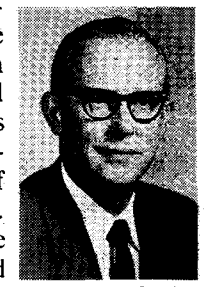
Something Different

By SEN. ALLEN ELLENDER (D.-La.)

I am a frequent critic of both wasteful government spending and the creation of numerous temporary federal agencies which turn out to be never-ending. Now, a situation has come to light which is highly commendable. In March of last year, a Temporary Alaska Claims Commission was created to settle differences between the federal government and the state of Alaska involving disputed property. The commission was given $33,000 to carry out its work. On May 5th of this year, the chairman of the commission announced that its duty had been fulfilled, with an expenditure of only $5,354.02. As I said, this result is highly commendable. I only regret that we cannot see more examples of this attitude, in both the Congress and the executive branch of our government.

Lack of Information

By REP. JAMES BATTIN (R.-Mont.)



Since the days of the late Sen. Arthur Vandenberg (R.-Mich.) foreign policy has generally been conducted by the White House on a bi-partisan basis with congressional leaders of both parties participating in the decision-making process, if not in the decisions. Other Presidents have felt the need of unified understanding by both parties of the background and highly classified information discussed in these consultations and conferences that precede such a momentous decision as the latest on Viet Nam. But no Republican leaders were consulted in this case and none had the opportunity of knowing what was discussed or what alternatives or options were offered. Certainly there were some. As the war hits closer to home with daily growing casualty lists, it will be imperative that the President keep the people fully informed and convinced that he has made the right decision.

Who Are the True Liberals?

By REP. LESLIE ARENDS (R.-Ill.)

There are "liberals," and there are "liberals so-called." There are those who are true liberals, and those who profess to be liberals. As Shakespeare would say, " 'Tis true, 'tis true; and pity 'tis, 'tis true." As evident from what took place in the House last week and what is currently taking place in the Senate, the so-called liberals in the Congress are liberal not as a matter of principle but only insofar as it serves their own political ends. They are more in the category of professional liberals than true liberals.

The liberals claim to be the great champions of individual rights and the free democratic processes for the advancement of those rights. They look upon themselves as the special guardians of a minority from the arbitrariness of a majority or vested interests. Time and again they have complained most vociferously against the House Rules Committee for not granting floor clearance for some bill. They have likewise complained time and again about a filibuster in the Senate blocking a vote on measures, notably civil rights, in which they were interested.

Their voices rang out with all the righteous indignation, of which they are peculiarly adept at demonstrating, that the Rules Committee and the filibuster prevented the Congress from working its will. They wanted the rules of the House and Senate changed that legislation could be acted on and all would have opportunity to express themselves in behalf of the people. They were instrumental in having the House rules changed in this Congress whereby a bill could be brought to the floor if the Rules Committee did not act on it within 21 days.

What becomes of the noble principle "let Congress work its will" when, as last week, we find these so-called "liberals," and so-called they must be, using the 21-day rule in such a way as to "gag" the House?

They brought up the bill to repeal Section 14b, known as the "right-to-work provision" of the Taft-Hartley Act, in such a manner as to preclude any constructive amendments being offered. The House never had opportunity to debate or vote on them. They were simply dismissed on a technical point of order as not being germane to the specific bill as written, although germane to the subject matter. The so-called liberals voted against an attempt to liberalize the procedure that the House could, in fact, work its will. They voted against the very thing they have long been so vehemently advocating.

" 'Tis true, 'tis true; and pity 'tis, 'tis true." Yes, and pity it is that so many are deceived by the masquerade. In the Senate we are witnessing the "liberals so-called" opposing the Dirksen Amendment to the Constitution, not being willing that the people in the respective states "might work their will" by voting on the proposition of apportionment of their own state legislature. They even threaten to filibuster, employing the very device against which they have so self-righteously complained, to prevent the Senate from "working its will."

One who serves in the Congress should above all else be true to the principles he professes to advocate: liberal or conservative, radical or reactionary.

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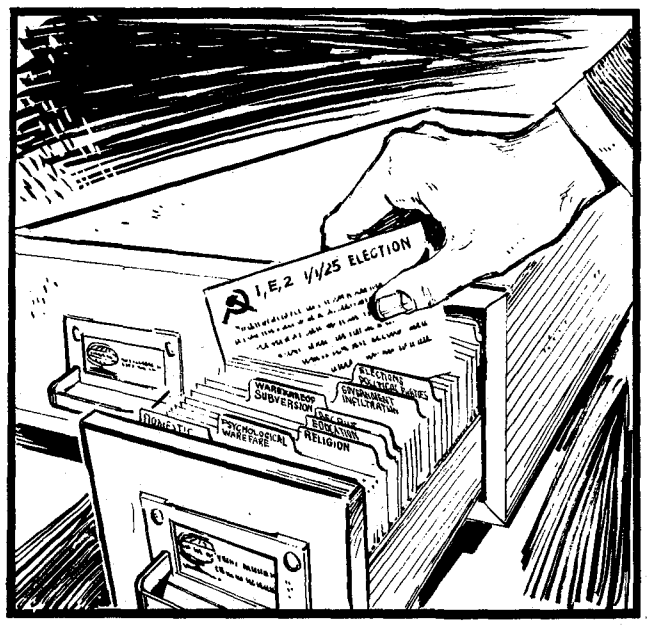

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